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ABSTRACT

Members of the U.S. and Mexican media, government officials, academics, and representatives of private organizations met to discuss issues and concerns of both countries. Topics included energy, trade and development, migration, bilateral governmental relations, and the role of the press in these affairs. Mexico's oil and natural gas reserves were discussed; Mexico viewed its energy potential as a way to balance the expansion of its petroleum output with its overall industrial growth; the United States viewed the reserves as an energy issue. Illegal Mexican migration was considered by Mexicans as a brain and muscle drain; the United States saw the instituting of a regularized guest worker program as one solution to this problem. Regarding trade and development, Mexico was seen as having more status as a world trading nation because of its development and control of natural resources. In discussions of bilateral governmental relations, the perceptions held of each other, the lack of communication over the years, and the need for consistent policy were considered. The media bear a heavy responsibility for building understanding and cooperation between the two countries. (Author/NE)

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MEXICO-UNITED STATES RELATIONS

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Report of a
WINGSPREAD® SYMPOSIUM

sponsored by
The American Committee of the International Press Institute

in cooperation with
The Johnson Foundation

March 25-27, 1979

Report prepared by David Meissner

SO 014 304

MEXICO—UNITED STATES RELATIONS

PREFACE

Relations between countries are not established solely by governments. Private citizens, representatives of business, education, the arts and importantly, the media play their part.

It was with a belief that a contribution to better understanding, and consequently better relations, could be made that The Johnson Foundation joined with the American Committee of the International Press Institute to convene in March 1979 a meeting of distinguished journalists and media leaders from Mexico and the United States.

The press, radio and television exert a powerful influence on public attitudes. It is the work of journalists to select what is newsworthy and to report in timely fashion what readers need to know about events and the context in which they occur.

And yet communications gaps occur, gaps that can affect important relationships between countries. There are reasons for communications gaps between the United States and Mexico. These can be found in differences in language and culture and the legacies of history. Today the rapid pace of human affairs makes it more important than ever before to strengthen and expand communication between media leaders in the two countries.

The United States has too often neglected its immediate neighbors in its preoccupation with its own affairs and affairs around the world. Mexico for its part has understandably sought to emphasize its separate identity and independent course. In such an atmosphere events which move quickly, and reports about them, can build tension and discord.

We believe it is important for Mexican and United States journalists to meet together from time to time to identify areas of common concern and share views. Such exchanges can build a basis for mutual understanding and appreciation of the values and aspirations that move each country and point to where the common interests of the two countries lie.

This is why The Johnson Foundation has long hoped for a meeting such as the one that took place at Wingspread. The discussions that occurred were conducted openly and frankly in a warm and friendly atmosphere. The result was that perspectives were put in clearer focus.

The symposium at Wingspread gave promise for forging continuing beneficial lines of communication between media leaders in the two countries.

The Johnson Foundation is grateful to all who assisted in making the meeting possible and productive — to the American Committee of the International Press Institute and its chairman, Richard Leonard, to Gerald Warren, the conference chairman.

Contributions of great importance were made to the discussions by His Excellency Hugo B. Margain, Ambassador of Mexico to the United States, and by The Honorable Patrick J. Lucey, United States Ambassador to Mexico. For their participation and for the part played by the other speakers we are most grateful.

A great deal of appreciation is due to the journalists from Mexico and the United States who gave the meeting the high priority that they did.

The report of the Wingspread meeting that follows was prepared by experienced journalist David Meissner. It will be of interest to professional journalists as well as to thoughtful persons on both sides of the border interested in promoting friendship and cooperation between Mexico and the United States.

Henry Halsted
Vice President-Program
The Johnson Foundation

FOREWORD

Pickets from the Latin American Union for Civil Rights marched outside the Milwaukee Press Club the evening of March 26, 1979, discouraging several leaders of the local Latin community from attending a dinner at which journalists from Mexico and the United States were attempting to improve relations between their nations.

Signs and handbills called attention to the very border incidents and migration difficulties that people inside the Press Club, including the Mexican ambassador to the United States and the United States ambassador to Mexico, were attempting to resolve through cooperative consultation.

The fact that influential Latins chose to boycott the meeting rather than join the discussion was a dramatic illustration of a serious communication problem.

The meeting of journalists, public officials and educators, sponsored by The Johnson Foundation and the American Committee of the International Press Institute, was aimed at starting a conversation of hemispheric consequence.

Oil reserves, trade, migration, labor supply and other topics of mutual concern received attention. More important, there was talk about the special relationship that the two nations must have because they are neighbors. There was realization that honest, accurate journalism was an important factor in building good foreign relations, and an editor was applauded when he said that there could be no real understanding between the people of Mexico and the

United States until journalists from the two countries understood each other better.

The Wingspread Symposium was a good beginning.

As *The Milwaukee Journal* commented editorially following the symposium:

> "Improved relations with Mexico belong near the top of the American foreign policy agenda.
>
> "After all, the relationship between these two nations transcends the traditional. The internal policies of each country profoundly affect the other. The U.S.-Mexican border is in many ways an artificial barrier to the north-south flow of deep mutual interests."

Richard H. Leonard

Richard C. Leonard
Chairman
American Committee
International Press Institute

INTRODUCTION

The United States-Mexican border plays a paradoxical role in the two countries' relationship. The border is both porous and impregnable. Millions of people from each country move back and forth across that division line annually. Similarly, millions of dollars worth of trade — agricultural products, raw materials and manufactured goods — cross the border every year in each direction. And capital flows in like amounts. For instance, the U.S. today has $3.2 billion in direct investments in Mexico.

In other ways, however, the border has been a symbolic barrier, walling the two nations apart. This has been particularly true of communication. While the two countries are geographic neighbors, they too often have not talked with each other in ways that either understood or appreciated. Historically, Mexican-American relations have been marked many times by simmering animosities, one-way conversations or plain lack of interest. In the last 35 years, the U.S. especially, has tended to look east toward Europe and west toward Asia, not south toward its Mexican neighbor.

There are many reasons why this communications gap has existed. Differences in language and culture are two. The disparity in economic wealth and power between the U.S and Mexico has been another contributing factor. Industrialized America has viewed its role in global terms. Developing Mexico, until recently, has had a more narrowly focused, regional view.

However, perceptions are changing. Mexico no longer has the sleepy image that so long colored the U.S. popular view of it. Mexico has been developing economically at a fast rate for the last three decades. Since 1945, the country's economy has grown by about 6.2% a year. Manufacturing exports jumped 20% annually between 1970 and 1977. Mexico is the leading United States trading partner in Latin America and ranks fifth in U.S. global trade.

Furthermore, large Mexican petroleum discoveries in recent years have sparked great U.S. interest in Mexico as a close and secure source of foreign petroleum and natural gas. If Mexico's huge potential reserves of 200 billion barrels of oil become a reality, then the U.S. would be a logical customer for Mexico's petroleum and gas surpluses. Mexico also sees the U.S. mass market as a logical target for its growing industrial, manufacturing and agricultural exports.

Mutual awareness has also increased on both sides of the Rio Grande over the question of illegal migration to the U.S. Hundreds of thousands of Mexicans, unable to find work in their own country, annually cross into the U.S. seeking jobs. This large number of undocumented Mexican workers has become the source of a great deal of mutual political and economic concern.

These factors in the present scene underscore the expanding interdependence of the two countries and the need for better understanding and communication. It was with this in mind that The Johnson Foundation and the American Committee of the International Press Institute sponsored a meeting of leading journalists and media directors from both countries to discuss Mexico-United States issues.

For three days in late March, 1979, approximately 50 people — members of the U.S. and Mexican media, Mexican and United States government officials, academics and representatives of private organizations interested in Mexico-United States relations — discussed the subjects of energy, trade and development, migration, bilateral governmental relations, and the role of the press in these affairs.

The conference had a distinct sense of immediacy since it convened shortly after the meeting between U.S. President Jimmy Carter and Mexican President Jose Lopez Portillo in Mexico City. As a measure of the importance with which the symposium was viewed, it is noteworthy that both the Mexican Ambassador to the United States, the Honorable Hugo Margain, and the United States Ambassador to Mexico, the Honorable Patrick J. Lucey, addressed the conference and participated actively in the discussions.

The following account of the discussions is by topic. Comments by participants are not necessarily in the order in which they were made. Instead, they have been organized in an effort to illustrate the breadth of discussion that took place on each subject.

MEXICO—UNITED STATES RELATIONS

Above, Ambassador Patrick Lucey addresses the opening session.

Right, participants listen with interest. Headphones carry interpretation in Spanish or English.

Left, Richard Leonard, Chairman, American Committee of the International Press Institute.

If there was one pervasive topic at the Wingspread Conference it was the question of Mexico's oil and natural gas reserves . . .

U.S., MEXICO AND ENERGY

If there was one pervasive topic at the Wingspread Conference, it was the question of Mexico's oil and natural gas reserves. But the perspectives from Washington and Mexico City were quite different. Luigi R. Einaudi, Director U.S. State Department Office of Policy Planning, Public and Congressional Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, pointed out that Mexico views its oil and gas as a national development issue. The U.S. looks at Mexico's petroleum potential strictly as an energy issue, he said.

Einaudi's point was reinforced by the two speakers who led the energy discussion: Adolfo Aguilar Zinser of Mexico, a Research Fellow of the Harvard University Center for International Affairs; and Paul Hayes, science and energy reporter for *The Milwaukee Journal.*

Aguilar warned that Mexico will come under tremendous pressure from the United States to export its oil and natural gas to the U.S. The U.S. has a strategic need for energy supplies, he declared, and Mexico, with its large petroleum potential, is perceived as a sure and accessible source of energy geographically close to the U.S. Aguilar stated that unrestricted access to Mexican oil and gas could provide the U.S. with a way to balance the power of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).

He also said that the U.S. views Mexican energy as a way of easing chronic U.S. balance of payments problems. While the U.S. would have to pay Mexico for its oil and gas, Mexico represents a close and potentially large market for United States exports. Further, Aguilar asserted that the continued failure of the U.S. government to design and enforce a coherent energy plan based on reduced oil consumption enhances the political importance of Mexican oil reserves.

Aguilar noted that the optimism with which the U.S. looks at these reserves is based on various estimates of how much petroleum Mexico may be able to produce by the middle and late 1980's. These estimates range from the low of 3.8 million barrels a day forecast by a Congressional research report to the high of 10 million barrels a day estimated by the CIA.

Mexico looks at its energy potential in a different light, Aguilar explained. Mexico's concern is to balance the expansion of its petroleum output with its overall industrial growth, and with the fundamental need to reduce income inequalities and increase employment opportunities.

Aguilar claimed that Mexico's newfound petroleum wealth

would have a significant effect on his country's political system as well as on its economy. He hoped that the debate over export and development policies would prompt political reforms that would make Mexico's essentially one-party political system more responsive to the social needs of the population and more receptive to the opinions of opposing political groups.

Since 1938, Aguilar said, oil policy decisions have been a privilege of the Mexican president. Now, however, opposing views within the Mexican government struggle to define production and export targets. Pemex, the Mexican government-owned oil company, he explained, takes the position that Mexico should proceed with an ambitious program of oil production in order to justify the large investment already planned. Pemex does not believe that its desire for more oil production and exports conflicts with the interests of the country as a whole, and furthermore, the company maintains that greater oil production can be achieved without depleting oil reserves. Other government agencies, Aguilar noted, oppose the claims of Pemex. The Ministry of Patrimony and Industrial Development advocates a more restrained development in which the growth of domestic demand, and not the export market, is the determining factor in the increase of production targets. Consistent with this view, he said, is the idea of maintaining exports at a fixed and modest level.

Aguilar stated that current official government policy is to reach 2.5 million barrels a day of total production by 1980, 1.1 million of which will be exported daily. This target is now planned to be maintained until 1982. However, Aguilar noted, the structural problems of the Mexican economy, and increasing social pressures, could very well lead the government to use oil revenues as a palliative, in place of more fundamental economic and social reforms. Thus, he asserted, Mexico's internal problems could coincide with foreign pressures to increase oil exports.

Aguilar predicted that this situation will more likely be faced by the next president, who will take office in 1982. Despite the U.S. perception of Mexico's oil production targets as conservationist, the fact is, Aguilar explained, that Lopez Portillo's government is extracting oil in volumes close to its financial and technical limits. Today's massive investments in the oil industry will increase this capacity by 1982.

Aguilar acknowledged that the U.S. represents economically, though perhaps not politically, the most desirable market for Mexican oil and natural gas. This, he believes, explains why Mexican oil exports represent currently, without pressure from the U.S., 5% of total U.S. imports and 80% of total Mexican oil exports. He said that by 1982, under the present production targets and even assuming that the export diversification plan of Mexico succeeds, Mexico will supply close to 10% of U.S. oil imports. This share, he remarked, is equivalent to the Iranian participation in the U.S. market before the revolution. This level, Aguilar declared, will trigger even greater expectations by the U.S. after 1982.

Regarding natural gas, Aguilar predicted that, despite Mexico's present reluctance, negotiations would be renewed. He estimated that at a level of 2.5 million barrels a day of oil production, associated natural gas production will approach 4 billion cubic feet per day. Even should Mexican domestic consumption expand, and public enterprises convert to gas, a surplus of between 500 million and one billion cubic feet per day will remain. Failure to use this surplus will result in either continued flaring or curtailed oil production, unless, Aguilar said, reinjection of gas is feasible and resorted to. However, Aguilar explained, Pemex is eager to export this gas to the U.S., while the U.S. similarly desires to conclude an early natural gas agreement with Mexico to remove the associated natural gas constraint from the country's oil production.

Hugo Margain, Mexico's ambassador to the United States, agreed that Mexico's aim was to balance the expansion of its petroleum output with its overall industrial growth. He noted that Mexican President Lopez Portillo repeatedly had pledged that Mexico would exploit its oil and gas, but only "within the capacity of Mexico to digest and absorb the additional wealth generated by these resources."

"What does that mean?" Margain asked rhetorically. "That means that the general framework of our economy will be distorted if we produce more." He added that "there is a limit that we are really concerned about because of the experience with a too-rapid exploitation of oil by other countries of the so-called Third World."

The ambassador said that Mexico believed that much of the inflation and political-social instability that had occurred in some of these underdeveloped countries was the result of the overproduction and export of too much oil and gas. "We don't have any excuse to repeat those errors," he emphasized.

Paul Hayes of *The Milwaukee Journal* told the group that his "perspective was different from that of Aguilar." He noted that of the nine million barrels of oil a day that the U.S. currently imported, Mexico supplied only 308,000 barrels, or 109 million barrels a year. "Translated into the U.S. appetite

. . . Mexico's aim . . . to balance the expansion of its petroleum output with its overall industrial growth.

Left to right, Enrique Ramirez y Ramirez, Director of El Dia; *Henry Halsted, Vice President-Program, The Johnson Foundation; Gerald Warren, Editor,* San Diego Union.

Luis Amieva, Director of El Sol *(left), Felix Cortes Camarillo of Televisa, Mexico City (right).*

Reprinted from Américas, June - July 1979.

Map by Faina based on information supplied by the Embassy of Mexico, Washington, D.C.

for energy," Hayes said, "that would have supplied five days of U.S. activity without other sources."

But the Journal energy writer pointed out that this was considerably more than Mexico had been supplying in years past. In 1974, only 8,400 barrels a day trickled into the U.S. "From this we can see that Mexico is coming on strong as an international exporter of oil," he said.

Hayes acknowledged that this short period of time was hardly long enough to establish a statistical trend. However, he added, if the trend of the last several years continues, "the U.S. can use the entire proved reserves of Mexico by 1989. Obviously we are not going to do that."

The Journal writer's point was that no matter how much new oil Mexico discovered and no matter how much eventually found its way to the United States, "we are still talking about only adding decades to the time when not only the United States but the rest of the world must confront the need to shift from this kind of resource base to another kind of economy, and we don't yet know what that is."

Hayes saw the present American paralysis in energy policy as a forerunner of what other countries will face in the future. "The next generation globally," he declared, "will confront what our generation nationally has confronted in the United States, that is, the appearance of the first shortages of a once abundant fuel and the need to plan to use something else."

A great deal of the discussion centered on just what quantities of Mexican oil and gas would be available for export and how much might be sold to the United States.

Hayes pointed out that Mexican oil production was expanding rapidly. Mexico, in March, 1979, was producing 1.8 million barrels a day. Production was expected to expand to 2.25 million barrels a day by the end of the year, fulfilling the original government goal set for 1982. According to Hayes, the short term implication of this was that there would be a "growing fraction . . . available for U.S. use." But, he said, that would not answer where The U.S. must turn for its energy in the long run.

The impasse between the U.S. and Mexico over potential sales of natural gas to the U.S. received much attention. Six major United States energy companies made a tentative agreement in 1977 with the Mexican government for 2 billion cubic feet of gas a day. The gas was to be shipped to the U.S. by pipeline to the American border. The deal — and the northern segment of the pipeline — fell through when the

Left to right, Eduardo Macias, Direccion General de Radio, Television y Cinematografia, Mexico City; Jorge Alvarez del Castillo, El Informador, *Guadalajara; Virgilio Caballero, News Director, Channel 11, Mexico City.*

Carter administration vetoed the pact on the ground that the price the Mexicans wanted was too high. U.S. Ambassador to Mexico Patrick J. Lucey admitted that "we put the Mexican government through a very difficult period" when the "U.S. government said, 'No deal.'"

There was a difference of opinion between the Mexican and United States government officials at the conference over whether Mexico would be willing to sell gas immediately to the United States if a new bargain could be struck. Mexico and the U.S. agreed to reopen the negotiations as a result of President Carter's visit to Mexico in February, 1979.

Ambassador Margain warned that the U.S. should not believe that it was the only customer for Mexican gas. He said that Mexico had decided not to export its gas for the next few years. Instead, it planned to consume it domestically. The ambassador pointed out that his country was in the midst of a $400 million program to convert industries and other utilities to the use of gas.

"We are going to use the gas and pay for the conversion with #2 heating oil exports, mostly to the U.S.," he declared. Margain did not see any gas flowing to the U.S. until 1981 at the earliest.

Ambassador Lucey was more optimistic about the availability of Mexican gas for export to the United States. The U.S. ambassador noted that when Mexico's oil production reached 2.5 million barrels a day there would be about 4.1 billion cubic feet of gas associated with it. Of that amount, approximately 600 million to 700 million cubic feet would be in excess of Mexico's needs. In addition, he said, there were northern Mexico gas wells, unassociated with oil production, that were capped and being held in reserve.

Lucey revealed that in a recent conversation with a Mexican energy official he had asked about the possibility of Mexico exporting gas to the U.S. According to Lucey, "I said, 'How soon could you have 600 million cubic feet of gas flowing to the U.S.?' and he said, 'In 30 days.'" The former Wisconsin governor explained that such an amount almost certainly would include some gas from the present capped reserves.

Earlier in the discussion, Lucey pointed out that the Mexicans had opened a 48-inch pipeline to San Fernando, about 100 miles from the U.S. border. He said construction of a 42-inch pipe from San Fernando to the U.S. was on the drawing boards, but it really was not crucial to quick gas delivery. "There are two or three older pipes . . . that used to bring gas from Texas to Monterrey," the ambassador said. "It is easy to reverse those flows, and they could move about 600 million cubic feet."

The stumbling block remained the price of the gas. Price disagreement soured the earlier U.S.-Mexican deal, Lucey noted, But, he added, ". . . I am very optimistic that something will be worked out on the gas."

In fact, Lucey thought that the present temporary surplus of gas in both countries would be advantageous to the new negotiations. He said that negotiating now would provide "a relaxing situation rather than a situation where one or both of us are under considerable pressure."

Differing with Lucey, Ambassador Margain declared that Mexico would carefully ration its gas, especially the Sabinas capped sour gas in northern Mexico.

Gerald Warren, editor of the *San Diego Union*, asked what the speakers might think of the idea floated by California's Governor Jerry Brown for a North American common market for energy.

Aguilar responded that the idea of a North American common market for energy had been suggested by Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts and Governor Jerry Brown of California as a way of balancing off the power of OPEC, and noted that there was strong opposition to the idea in Canada and that President Lopez Portillo did not receive the idea with much enthusiasm.

Mark Hanson, of the Energy Systems Policy Research Group at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, added that the U.S. energy use was so great that, even if energy resources of Mexico, Canada and the U.S. were shared, the region would continue to have an energy deficit. It would still be subject to OPEC pressure.

In his comments on energy, Luigi Einaudi agreed with Paul Hayes' appraisal of the U.S. energy dilemma. Einaudi said that Mexico's "energy resources do not offer a solution either to the long term decline in hydrocarbon availabilities or to the dilemmas posed by steadily expanding oil and gas imports at ever higher prices."

Overall, however, the State Department expert did not see energy as a basic point of contention between the two nations. "There is no obvious reason to expect major conflicts over energy as such in the long run," Einaudi observed. "Mexico's need to produce is matched by a U.S. need to consume; and the already voluminous trade between the two countries is likely to increase considerably."

Friction was more likely to develop in the areas of migration and trade.

Leonel Castillo, Commissioner, United States Immigration and Naturalization Service.

U.S., MEXICO AND MIGRATION

The passage of aliens back and forth across the U.S.-Mexico border is neither a new nor temporary problem. The State Department's Einaudi pointed out: "Migration from Mexico to the U.S. has grown steadily across many generations and shows no signs of abating." It is the expanding size and nature of this migration in recent years that has made it a politically sensitive issue, particularly in the United States.

Einaudi noted that there were about 1 million Mexican citizens legally residing in the U.S. But of an estimated 3 million to 6 million foreign citizens living in the U.S. illegally, he said, sixty percent were believed to be Mexicans. Mexican nationals, he said, were illegally entering the United States "at a rate of about 500,000-800,000 per year." Einaudi believed that "no other issue in our bilateral relations is as difficult or emotion laden."

Leonel J. Castillo, commissioner of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service and the featured speaker on migration, cast the problem in broader terms. He explained that "this is clearly a world phenomenon: people leaving their own countries to seek jobs elsewhere . . . But this is occurring on the greatest scale in the United States."

The U.S., Castillo said, "is experiencing the world's largest temporary worker program, larger even than the guest worker programs of Switzerland, France, Holland and Germany. Only ours is unregulated . . . (resulting) in the Immigration Service having to arrest over a million persons annually, and detaining over 300,000 each year whose crime is that they want to work in this country."

Castillo also acknowledged the sharpening bilateral concern over the migration problem. "I believe the border situation now and the relationship between the United States and Mexico are at a stage that is very critical . . . to both nations," he declared. "We at INS are extremely concerned that what appears to be a deterioration of this situation not be allowed to continue."

The generally accepted causes for the large migration of Mexicans to the United States are the burgeoning population in Mexico (almost 70 million people today), the chronically high unemployment that has accompanied this population growth, and the consistently wide differences in pay between the two countries.

Einaudi did not believe that the Mexican economy would be able to absorb the growing numbers of workers that would be entering the work force in the next decade. The numbers are anticipated to rise from about 700,000 a year currently to

more than a million annually by the late 1980's. "The number of Mexicans seeking work in the U.S. will thus not abate for the foreseeable future — and could even increase," he declared.

Einaudi's worry was that "uncontrolled or unmanaged migration into the United States may have growing social and political consequences, and could increasingly provoke preventive measures."

The Mexicans at the conference were bothered by the sheer fact that the migration problem existed.

"Our most important resource is the human resource," declared Enrique Ramirez y Ramirez, director of the newspaper *El Dia* of Mexico City, and a member of the Mexican Chamber of Deputies. Mexico, he said, "now, against its will, has to bear the exodus of millions of its sons on an annual basis . . . It is an imposition on us to have millions of Mexicans leave our country."

Felix Cortes Camarillo, deputy director of news of Televisa, Mexico City, pointed out that the large migration of Mexican workers to the U.S. amounted to a brain and muscle drain on Mexico that the country could ill afford. The Mexican seeking employment in the U.S. "has a strong desire to work, better than those who stay behind," he said. "This hurts our development." Cortes admitted that the large influx of Mexican job seekers created problems for the United States, but he saw the only real solution in Mexico itself.

Ambassador Margain was confident that the problem could be solved. "We will develop Mexico and we will produce jobs," he declared. "We don't want to lose an important part of our labor force."

Focusing on the growth of Mexico's population as a contributing factor to the immigration problem, Philip Foisie, assistant managing editor for foreign news of *The Washington Post*, asked the Mexicans "where in the list of priorities" they placed population control.

Ambassador Margain said that Mexico was well aware of the severe consequences of its population explosion and that the government was trying to do something about it. He noted that Mexico like many countries, including the United States, at first had been reluctant to articulate birth control as a public policy. That reticence had disappeared, he declared, "and we are doing our best to cope with this problem through a campaign called 'responsible parenthood,' which emphasizes that the number of children a couple may have shall be limited by their ability to support and educate them."

The ambassador said that instead of focusing on birth control, the government was undertaking a broad educational program that stressed giving the people "a sense

Interest was especially intense at the session on Migration.

of responsibility for bringing life into the world." He noted optimistically that the country's high birth rate was moving downward. The population growth rate had dropped from a very high 3.6% to about 2.8%, he said, and about 3 million women were taking contraceptives.

Cortes maintained that the population problem was not listed as the number one priority because "in the fundamental plans of our country, it can't be isolated from other factors associated with development." He said that what Mexico required was "integrated development." He stressed that "birth control, responsible parenthood, intelligent and just population planning . . . alone can't solve the problem of integrated development . . . We hope to attack our problems by attacking all our problems, not just one such as population control."

What bothered the Mexicans about the immigration problem was how the Mexican workers were treated in the United States. Ambassador Margain said that it was basically a question of "human rights."

"We don't want our people exploited here," Margain declared, "and you don't want this." He lamented that protection for Mexican migrants had ended with the cancellation of the bracero program in 1964, which allowed Mexicans to enter the U.S. legally as guest workers.

Castillo indicated that he was very sensitive to the human rights question in his agency's operations. "I am asking that fuller investigations be conducted of all incidents of violence, and all allegations of harsh or discourteous treatment by INS officers," the INS chief stated. ". . . I am also continuing our program of improved treatment of Mexicans and others who have been arrested for unlawful entry or presence in the United States."

He said that all the talk of a so-called buildup of law officers at the border was exaggerated. He pointed out that "on any given shift, we rarely have more than 350 Border Patrol officers" on duty for both the Mexican and Canadian borders. He said that he had been told that there were "twice as many officers protecting the U.S. Congress than all the borders of the U.S."

Castillo said that ironically some of his most controversial acts in the U.S. were those intended to be consistent with the Carter administration's emphasis on human rights. He listed such items as spending $400 on soccer balls for a detention facility in El Centro, California; putting doors on toilet stalls for privacy, and fixing broken-down plumbing at other facilities. "We should bring our facilities to the minimum level of the Bureau of Prisons," he said.

The INS commissioner stated that other efforts of his to help the migrant community understand their rights also had come under congressional fire. He said that there were an estimated 500,000 aliens in the U.S. who were eligible for residency but were ignorant of that fact. They were aliens, he said, "who could get documents and not live in fear." But an outreach program that he had started to provide this information prompted congressional criticism.

Castillo said that the INS was attempting to crack down on the "coyotes," the professionals who exploit the migrants by charging high prices to smuggle them into the United States. He noted, however, that his agency had a "serious problem" in this regard. Castillo stated that the courts required that witnesses — the illegal migrants — be held along with the apprehended coyote. In many cases, he declared, the coyote could post bail, leaving the culprit free and the migrant witnesses in jail.

Several ideas were outlined by the participants for coping better with the complex problem of illegal immigration. Ambassador Lucey noted that President Carter would appoint soon a distinguished American to head a congressionally created commission on immigration. Lucey said that the commission would "submit its recommendations late in 1980 to the president and Congress."

However, Castillo declared that there were "immediate needs" that couldn't wait "for the two years or more" that he anticipated it would take to transform commission recommendations into legislation. He called for changes in the law that included:

—a provision that would penalize employers of undocumented aliens;
—a program for allowing them (aliens) to enter legally and occupy jobs for temporary periods when workers cannot be found in the United States
—changes in the permanent immigration quotas for Mexico that would raise them "to at least the level that existed two years ago, so that families who are separated by our border can be reunited without waiting for months or years."

Speaking to the quota issue, the State Department's Einaudi pointed out that Mexico was allowed the same number of visas as Costa Rica or Paraguay. "That is the application of a global policy with absolutely no attempt to look at Mexico as a special environment," he declared.

Castillo suggested one other solution to help stem the tide of illegal immigration to the U.S. from Mexico. That was an

. . . the one [proposal] that appeared to produce the greatest acceptance among representatives of both countries was the suggested guest worker program.

Ambassador Lucey: ". . . we have neither the will nor the ability to seal the border."

expansion of the "twin plant concept," now limited generally to the border areas of Mexico. The plants on the Mexican side of the border assemble or finish products with parts provided from the U.S. side and then ship the finished goods back to the U.S.

These plants, he said, attract people looking for jobs to the border areas where there already is high unemployment. Discouraged over not finding jobs, these unemployed Mexicans many times then continue north into the U.S. looking for work, Castillo said.

The INS commissioner noted that his office had made a study that pinpointed "eight areas of Mexico that are the major origin of undocumented aliens in the United States." He proposed locating the twin plants in those areas, to provide employment for people in the neediest places, and to relieve the attraction at the border area, where there is already overpopulation.

Under questioning, Castillo conceded that there would be difficulty selling a number of these suggestions politically in the U.S., particularly to organized labor.

Of all Castillo's proposals, the one that appeared to produce the greatest acceptance among representatives of both countries was the suggested guest worker program.

Ambassador Lucey said that he was not speaking for the Carter Administration. But in his view, America had to recognize that "we are not prepared, that we have neither the will nor the ability to seal the border . . . We are better off," he declared, "with a policy that recognizes that fact of life . . . That means some sort of regularized guest worker program."

Tying the guest worker program to the question of employer sanctions, Lucey asked, "What better sanctions could you have? Then you would be able to say to an employer, 'If we catch you hiring illegals, we'll cut off the flow of legal guest workers.' And I think that is a sanction that would work."

While Ambassador Margain did not openly tout a new guest worker program, he strongly implied that this was the solution that he favored. He pointed out that between 1942 and 1964 the U.S. and Mexico had had a series of bilateral agreements that allowed Mexican workers into the U.S. and protected their rights under law.

Since 1965, he said, there have been no agreements, "only the unilateral attitude of your government." During these years, he declared, "the results have been very negative." He said that he hoped the consultative meetings now underway between the U.S. and Mexico would produce some agreement and solution.

What were the chances of any of these proposals becoming reality? Participants were hopeful that some movement could be achieved through the periodic meetings of Presidents Carter and Lopez Portillo. However, one question and its response illustrated the basic political climate in the spring of 1979.

Editor Warren of San Diego asked Castillo when he thought the influx of undocumented aliens would become critical and therefore touch off "a widespread political reaction" in the United States. Castillo answered "I used to think that Congress was very upset and wanted immediate action, but now it is hard to get a bill through that anyone agrees on." The result, said Castillo, is that the U.S. is moving toward an economy similar to Switzerland's, that relies heavily on foreign workers. "We are moving that way in a *de facto*, not orderly manner," he concluded.

MEXICO—UNITED STATES RELATIONS

United States Ambassador Patrick Lucey (left) talks with Mexican Ambassador Hugo Margain (right) following Ambassador Margain's address on Trade and Economic Development. Both Ambassadors were active participants throughout the conference.

"The earnings Mexico will derive from oil and gas exports will lead to a qualitative change in Mexico's status in the world."

MEXICAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TRADE WITH THE U.S.

There appeared to be a consensus among the main speakers at the conference that Mexico was entering a new phase in its economic development and as a world trading nation. Mexican development and trade, it was believed, would loom as major factors affecting the future relationship between the U.S. and Mexico.

"The earnings Mexico will derive from oil and gas exports will lead to a qualitative change in Mexico's status in the world," Latin expert Einaudi pointed out. Because Mexico no longer would have to worry about foreign exchange, Mexico would be able to make new investments in industry and agriculture, he said. These new options, Einaudi noted, had "major implications for the United States as well as Mexico."

Ambassador Lucey agreed. Lucey predicted that because of oil and possibly gas sales to the U.S., Mexico was "only a year or two at most" away from the time when Mexico's traditional trade deficits with the United States would be transformed "rather consistently" into trade surpluses.

Einaudi pointed to the 34% growth in Mexico-United States trade between 1977 and 1978 — a jump from $9.5 billion to $12.7 billion — as a sign of the growing importance of trade between the two countries. "As Mexico strengthens its economy through faster and partly export-led growth," he declared, "it will become a still larger market for us — and a stronger competitor in our markets."

Ambassador Margain, well aware of these trends, was optimistic that Mexico finally had control of the resources it needed to solve its development problems. "Now we think, through oil and gas, that we can have enough money to develop the country rapidly," the ambassador said.

While he acknowledged the role that oil would play in Mexico's development, Televisa's Cortes was concerned that Mexico's petroleum was warping the world's view of Mexican development. "We don't want to be a petroleum country, but rather a country with petroleum" Cortes declared. It was Cortes' view that Mexico's petroleum revenues had to be used to promote "integrated development" across a wide spectrum, including better land use through innovative technology and agricultural policies.

Margain stressed that Mexico was broadening its trade horizons, noting as examples that his country was shipping oil to Japan, France and Israel and soon would be supplying the European Common Market with refined petroleum products through its ownership in a Spanish refinery. But Mexico still needed its natural markets, he said. "The natural market for Mexico," Margain emphasized, "is precisely the United States."

Lucey explained that Mexico would likely get much broader access to the U.S. market through the multinational trade negotiations in Geneva, Switzerland (which were completed shortly after the Wingspread conference). The tentative agreement, he believed, "heavily favors Mexico."

The U.S. ambassador declared that Mexico already was benefiting "in a very dramatic way" from lower U.S. tariffs under the "general system of preferences for developing nations." He noted that "something over 1,000 Mexican products" entered the United States duty free under the program. He also pointed to the preferences granted to "in-bond" or "twin" plants in Mexico. Products assembled at these plants to be shipped back to the U.S. were free of all duties except for the value added during assembly or fabrication.

It was Einaudi's opinion that mutual trade liberalization "would benefit both countries." A broader, more affluent Mexican market could be a magnet for U.S. exports. On this point, however, Lucey warned that U.S. companies would "have to be more aggressive than they have been in the past in . . . developing markets for their products in Mexico."

At the same time the State Department expert saw some dark and potentially harmful clouds on the U.S.-Mexico trade horizon. Einaudi worried that the appearance of a substantial U.S. trade deficit with Mexico could "strengthen protectionist sentiments in the United States." Increased U.S. exports to Mexico could stimulate a similar reaction in that country, he said. He pointed to "Mexico's long history of industrial development behind protective import barriers."

The Latin American specialist called these "predictable trade frictions." But warned that without proper attention they could get out of hand and be "damaging to both countries."

Ambassador Margain thought that these bilateral problems could be solved. "Trade between the U.S. and Mexico is linked to development in the same way that oil and energy are linked to development," the diplomat said. He stressed giving the "consulting mechanism (between the two countries) more power."

MEXICO—UNITED STATES RELATIONS

THE SHAPE OF MEXICO-U.S. RELATIONS

What are the perceptions each country has of the other? How should the two deal with each other? More specifically, how should the U.S. approach Mexico? Ambassador Lucey, Ambassador Margain, the State Department's Einaudi, Director Ramirez y Ramirez of *El Dia*, and Editor Warren of the *San Diego Union*, all addressed aspects of these questions in their presentations to the conference.

To Ramirez, one of the major problems between the two countries is that each suffers from misperception and lack of communication. "For many years we have not been able to establish between governments and peoples . . . a cordial and constructive dialog," the Mexican news executive said. He attributed part of the gulf between peoples to the history of the U.S.-Mexican relationship, which, he said, was "a bitter history" for Mexico. Mexicans, he added, would like to see this bitterness erased, not with words but "through new events, through a new reality" of understanding between the two countries.

Another problem, he declared, was the U.S. tendency to look at Mexico in terms of specific interests, such as petroleum. In doing so, people in the U.S. sometimes misunderstood what they were seeing. Some in the U.S., Ramirez declared, are surprised that Mexico has discovered such huge amounts of oil. But those discoveries were due "not to mere providence, but due to the technological development of Mexico," he said. In reality, he emphasized, "the reserves of a people have been discovered."

Ramirez said that he did not believe that a "new reality" could be achieved "by dividing up the problems of the relationship of the United States and Mexico. The entire problem is the Mexican-U.S. relationship," he emphasized.

Both the State Department's Einaudi and Ambassador Lucey testified to the complexity of U.S.-Mexican relations. Einaudi noted that the interactions of the two nations "dwarf traditional distinctions between domestic and international affairs." The State Department expert also acknowledged that these interactions "create some extremely intractable problems" that "no single administration, either in the United States or Mexico, is likely to 'solve.'"

Lucey concurred. Referring to the recent summit between Presidents Carter and Lopez Portillo, the ambassador declared that neither man could exert total control over events. This actuality, he said, "contrasts greatly . . . with the misleading concept that leaders of democratic nations are free to operate at the summit in a manner inconsistent with their respective political institutions."

Lucey then turned to the misunderstandings that historically have separated the two peoples. He said that the Mexican president's opening remarks to President Carter in Mexico

"Mexicans and Americans as They View Each Other" was the topic of this session at which Enrique Ramirez y Ramirez of El Dia *and Gerald Warren of the* San Diego Union *gave the opening statements.*

". . . the profound challenge we face in overcoming the legacy of Mexican suspicion and resentment . . ."

City were not the "personal rebuke" that the United States press took them to be. On the contrary, Lucey declared, they were an "accurate reflection of the attitudes of the vast majority of Mexicans toward the historical relationship between their country and ours." He said that President Lopez Portillo had "performed a service to public understanding by indicating, with great clarity, the profound challenge we face in overcoming the legacy of Mexican suspicion and resentment which is a barrier to full cooperation between our two countries."

Einaudi concluded, similarly to Ramirez, that "our most pressing need is to improve the ways we think about and manage our relations." He stressed that "relations cannot prosper in an atmosphere of bureaucratic fragmentation, regional parochialisms, or narrow interest politics."

Gerald Warren also enunciated this theme. The San Diego editor remarked that every new U.S. president told the nation of his intentions of developing America's "special relationship" and "good neighbor" policy toward Mexico. Invariably, Warren said, those intentions were placed "on the back burner," and the relationship did not have priority until there was "conflict" on some specific issues. "I think we need a rational, steady attempt at understanding our differences," he declared.

What tack should the U.S. take toward Mexico? Einaudi suggested two approaches — globalism or a special relationship.

Globalism, he said, "would mean that except for the border, the U.S. would approach Mexico with the same general foreign policy premises that we apply generally to leading developing countries." Under such a policy, Washington would act toward Mexico in the following manner:

—U.S. interests in Mexican oil would be approached from a global perspective rather than in bilateral or domestic terms
—Trade with Mexico would be carried on within the framework of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and most-favored-nation trading provisions
—The U.S.-Mexican border would be kept distinct with "migration and other potentially integrating relationships," such as the borderlands on both sides of the national boundary, dealt with on an autonomous basis
—U.S. citizens of Mexican descent would be urged to assimilate and cut their ties with Mexico
—Generally, Mexico would receive "no more special attention . . . than any other major developing country"

Luigi Einaudi, United States Department of State, challenged the conference to consider contrasting policy options.

This position, according to Einaudi, "coincides with the assumptions behind most U.S. policies today, particularly on trade and migration, and with Mexico's own stress on sovereign independence." The State Department specialist noted that such a policy gives little weight to Mexico's role as a U.S. neighbor and its influence on U.S. domestic policy, "facts that make Mexico distinct from other developing countries." He also said that the globalist view risks "growing bilateral tensions" as Mexico becomes a more formidable economic competitor.

The other approach would be to develop a community or special relationship with Mexico. Einaudi declared that this would involve viewing Mexico "as a partner whose growth and importance as a neighbor make a common future highly desirable, if not inevitable." This would include:

MEXICO—UNITED STATES RELATIONS

Adolfo Aguilar Zinser

—seeking joint approaches toward such issues as energy, trade, labor relations that would "maximize advantages for both countries"
—coordinating migration and immigration policies for the benefit of both nations
—consciously improving border relations
—recognizing Mexico's contribution to the U.S. cultural base and economy
—"intense bilateral consultations . . . on all major issues" in an effort to soften economic, social and psychological disparities between the two countries

Einaudi said that building a special relationship would recognize the unique role that the borderlands play in each country and stress "maximum cooperation." It could also lead "to the evolution some decades hence of an economic community along European lines, possibly ultimately extending to all of North America."

The State Department scholar admitted that a "firm choice between these two visions may not be feasible." But he suggested that the U.S. needed to lean at least in one direction or the other to avoid drift.

Einaudi acknowledged that the globalist approach dominated U.S. policy today. He said that the globalist position was "well entrenched in the bureaucracy" and had its roots in the post-World-War-II awareness that the U.S. was a world power with global responsibilities. He said that it was viewed as a "betrayal of self-image to start thinking of making some very special deals" with countries, such as Mexico, where there was no impending crisis.

It was Einaudi's belief that Mexico itself currently did not want a preferential relationship with the U.S. but preferred "a relationship and a working environment in which it could be said that basic decisions . . . (were made) within an international framework."

Virgilio Caballero, news director of Channel 11 of Mexico City, said that he could not speak for his government. He did not believe, however, that there was any contradiction between trying to solve specific problems between the two countries, such as migration, while Mexico at the same time took a long-term, globalist approach to the question of energy and petroleum.

Caballero said that Mexico could not accept a special relationship if it meant foregoing Mexican support for "a more just world economic order." To do so, he declared, would mean Mexico would have to "sacrifice its common destiny with Latin America and other nations." Any special relationship would have to be within the context of a just world economic order, he said.

Aguilar, the Harvard scholar, questioned whether a U.S. policy aimed at establishing a "special relationship" with Mexico may not really be designed to benefit only the U.S. and not its neighbor. Possibly, he suggested, the traditional U.S. policy of "benign neglect" to which Mexico has adjusted was indeed better than the newly awakened interest. Aguilar evidenced concern that U.S. interest in Mexican petroleum, and the consequent pressures to increase exports to the United States, could play against the well-being of Mexico and thus conflict with long-run American interests.

Pedro Camacho, political editor of *El Heraldo de Mexico*, Mexico City, shied from either approach. He said that Mexicans want to be "treated as we are, as a country, aside from global policies." He stated that it is "important for Mexico" to be viewed as a country "with a destiny of our own" as well as a joint destiny with the U.S. The political editor said that the most important factor in any relationship is that it be "just," and that the two nations treat each other "with equality and respect."

Warren, of the *San Diego Union*, expressed hope that United States policy would be a mixture of the two. He

believed that the U.S. should take a global approach toward Mexican natural resources. He did not believe that Mexico would accept anything less, given its historical approach to natural resources and the record of past dealings with America.

But in other areas, Warren said, "I do think it is essential that the two countries establish that special relationship that we perhaps thought we had all along, but I don't think we did have." The U.S. no longer can afford to have issues of mutual interest, such as trade and migration, "again . . . shoved on the back burner," he declared. "Indeed," Warren emphasized, "in the borderlands our futures are locked forever."

Whatever policy choices are made in the future, participants at the conference believed that there must be more and frequent consultation between the two countries.

"Unilateral actions are increasingly ineffective," said Einaudi, "but fears and different perceptions, interests and traditions limit cooperation — sometimes severely."

Ambassador Lucey stressed that, contrary to popular belief, the meeting between the presidents of the two countries had been a success because it "created the necessary preconditions to joint progress toward common goals." Lucey pointed out that Presidents Carter and Lopez Portillo agreed that the consultative mechanism "should be continued and strengthened."

Throughout his several statements at the conference, Ambassador Margain stressed repeatedly the need for both countries to work out their mutual problems in concert. For instance, he put great weight on the bilateral approach as a means of attacking the illegal migration problem.

Ramirez of *El Dia* emphasized the need to "move toward joint studies justifying joint solutions." He said that contacts should be extended beyond government to "direct contact between the Mexican and American people." The news executive hoped that there could be more contact between workers, scientists and other cultural establishments.

"We share the same historical habitat," Ramirez declared, "and we have to arrive at one destiny for true understanding, peace and cooperation."

Einaudi of the State Department concurred with this assessment. "The U.S.-Mexico relationship is not a zero-sum game in which one side loses if the other side wins," he said. "But today's new and more important reality is that, increasingly, both sides can win — or both sides can lose. This is manifestly evident for the future."

Gerald Warren

THE ROLE OF THE PRESS

The media bear a heavy responsibility for building understanding and cooperation. That message was repeated at the conference by those in and out of the media.

"The major responsibility for breaking the barrier (of misperceptions) rests with us," declared Warren of the *San Diego Union*.

"I suspect that the future may well turn out to depend to a surprising degree on what opinion leaders in both countries want to happen," said the State Department's Einaudi.

There were strong feelings among some of the government representatives and members of the press that the media at times are guilty of abetting the differences between the two nations.

Einaudi believed that "journalism in both countries has not yet given evidence that it recognizes the promises or the pitfalls of our relations." He noted that none of the more than 20 newspapers in Mexico City had "explained the U.S. perspective on the natural gas controversy." The U.S. media, he said, have persisted in "seeing oil as the dominant theme in President Carter's visit to Mexico to the neglect of migration, trade, and the border — and to the total exclusion of Mexico's international role."

Ambassador Lucey devoted a major part of his keynote address to the role of the media in President Carter's meeting with President Lopez Portillo in Mexico City. Lucey said that the successful nature of the talks between the two heads of state had not been conveyed in the press of either country.

"Unfortunately," the ambassador declared, ". . . prior to the February meeting, expectations were created in the public press of both of our nations which were unrealistic and inconsistent with any foreseeable outcome of these talks." This, he said, "led to disappointment among Mexicans and Americans alerted to expect dramatic pronouncements" on such questions as "energy cooperation, population movement [and] trade relations."

He blamed the Mexican press for creating a picture before the President's visit that portrayed President Carter as if he had "no goals other than to subvert the Mexican constitution, claim Mexico's energy resources in the name of the United States, and use the threat of closing the border as an instrument of compulsion."

Overall, Lucey believed that there was "a mistaken tendency" in the Mexican media to believe that the U.S. "resents and fears Mexico's growing strength." He asserted that, on the contrary, the U.S. wanted strong friends and that equality improved relations. "Mexico's growth is in our interest as well as Mexico's," he declared.

Turning to the U.S. media, Lucey stated that it also had not covered itself with glory during the presidential visit. He said that events that were of general interest, but not particularly germane to the talks, "were allowed to appear as if they constituted the ultimate meaning of the presidential meeting." As a result, the ambassador stated, "the press was misled by shadows, and lost sight of the substance."

He suggested that the White House press corps that accompanied President Carter to Mexico was ill prepared to cover the substance of the visit. Lucey said that there is a "tendency to grab hold of the first thing that happens that has general interest, whether it's an unfortunate choice of humor or some strong language. And that seems to dominate and distort the whole press coverage."

Nicholas R. Shuman, editorial writer for the *Chicago Sun-Times*, took issue with Ambassador Lucey's thesis that the press created artificially high expectations for the Carter-Lopez Portillo meeting. "My perception of the press at that time," Shuman declared, "was that it was, on the contrary, warning against great expectations."

He said that there was a great deal of sympathy towards Mexico in the U.S. press. "On the other side of the coin," he admitted, "we may have erred in calling the thing a failure in early reports from Mexico City." But he suggested that President Lopez Portillo contributed to that feeling with his controversial opening remarks to President Carter. The press put it in proper perspective after the meetings were concluded, he said.

Castillo, head of the INS, also had some complaints about the news media on both sides of the border. He said that "inflammatory presentations . . . both here and in Mexico" did not help the two countries overcome their mutual problems. "If it were not such a serious situation, I could almost be amused by some of the articles I have read," he declared.

On the U.S. side of the border, Castillo mentioned news articles that featured "unsubstantiated data from the most questionable sources" and relied on exaggeration, "such as brown hordes entering the United States." He complained of the Mexican press "reporting Ku Klux Klan hangings of Mexicans, which took place 30 years ago, as though they were a current event."

The media bear a heavy responsibility for building understanding and cooperation . . .

A brisk walk between sessions in Wisconsin cold and snow. Enrique Ramirez y Ramirez of El Dia *(left), Wilbur Landrey of the* St. Petersburg Times *(center), Jorge Castillero del Saz of* Excelsior *(right).*

Castillo asked "for more responsible and careful reporting . . . for more in-depth reporting and a better understanding of the tenseness that oftentimes exists along the world's busiest border." He suggested that one way to strengthen U.S. news coverage would be to make "greater use of Spanish speaking reporters," people "most major news media do not employ." At the same time, the INS commissioner acknowledged that there had been "a considerable amount of excellent reporting about the border," especially by "some of the smaller newspapers in the border area."

Members of the media agreed that the media on both sides of the border had their weaknesses in covering the relations between the two countries. Ramirez of Mexico City's *El Dia* and Warren of the *San Diego Union* suggested that the press of both countries suffered at times from the same misconceptions about the two countries that were found in their respective populations.

The *El Dia* director said that President Carter's visit was colored by "feelings of suspicion and prejudice" which arose from the "unfortunate bartering or fighting that took place previously concerning Mexican oil." Thus, Carter's motives were "reduced to a low level of simplification and prejudice which really did not correspond to the complexity of the problem," he said. "To a certain extent," he added, "this was fed by the communications media."

Ramirez acknowledged the considerable impact on the "harmony or disruption" of the relationship of the two countries" that the mass media could have through "imprudent action." At the same time, he declared, "we can also make a positive contribution if we serve as a means of understanding rather than distortion."

Warren pointed to the problem of perception stemming from different cultures, heritages and perspectives within each country. "We in the U.S. cannot understand why Mexicans

are offended when U.S. newspapers cover stories (about Mexico) the way U.S. newspapers always cover stories," he said. In this category the San Diego editor mentioned such topics as presidential visits, banditry, border problems and official corruption. He said many Mexicans view "this kind of journalism" as "part of a conspiracy" to demean Mexico. Many Mexicans, he added, could not understand why the U.S. press didn't cover equally the "honest attempts in Mexico to solve its seemingly impenetrable problems."

While the U.S. media can be faulted for this, Warren said, many of the things that Mexicans view as "distortions" really are "the fruit of misconception or, at the very least, misunderstanding." He urged that the media of the two countries "discuss this at future conferences."

Warren's hope for more meetings between members of the media of both countries was echoed by others at the conference, especially by those in the Mexican delegation who suggested a return meeting in Mexico.

The positive effects of the Wingspread symposium were apparent in the extensive space given to United States-Mexico relations in the press of both countries in the days following the meeting.

"Improved relations with Mexico belong near the top of the American foreign policy agenda," said an editorial in *The Milwaukee Journal.*

"The recent conference on Mexico-United States relations at Wingspread is already beginning to play a major role in the direction of my newspaper's coverage of Mexico," wrote Philip Foisie, Assistant Managing Editor, *The Washington Post.*

In July from Mexico came overtures for a Wingspread II conference in Mexico in the fall of 1979.

Delegation from Mexico

"Improved relations with Mexico belong near the top of the American foreign policy agenda."

PARTICIPANTS (with affiliations at the time of the Wingspread symposium)

Speakers

The Honorable Patrick J. Lucey, United States Ambassador to Mexico, Mexico City, Mexico

His Excellency Hugo B. Margain, Ambassador of Mexico, Washington, D.C.

Adolfo Aguilar Zinser, Research Fellow, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Leonel Castillo, Commissioner, United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C.

Luigi R. Einaudi, Director, Office of Policy Planning, Public and Congressional Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, United States Department of State, Washington, D.C.

Paul Hayes, Science and Energy Reporter, *The Milwaukee Journal,* Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Delegation from Mexico

Pedro Camacho, Political Editor, *El Heraldo de Mexico,* Mexico City, Mexico

Jorge Alvarez del Castillo, Director, *El Informador,* Guadalajara, Jal, Mexico

Luis Amieva, Director, *El Sol* (Queretaro), Mexico City, Mexico

Manuel Becerra Acosta, Director General, *Unomasuno,* Mexico City, Mexico

Rogelio Cantu, Director, *El Porvenir,* Monterrey, Mexico

Jorge Castillero del Saz, President, Administrative Council, *Excelsior,* Mexico City, Mexico

Felix Cortes Camarillo, Deputy Director of News of Televisa, Mexico City, Mexico

Eduardo Marcias, Director of Public Relations, Direccion General de Radio, Television y Cinematografia, Mexico City, Mexico

Virgilio Caballero, News Director, Channel 11, Mexico City, Mexico

Enrique Ramirez y Ramirez, Director, *El Dia* (Member of the Chamber of Deputies), Mexico City, Mexico

Delegation from the United States

Philip Foisie, Assistant Managing Editor — Foreign, *The Washington Post,* Washington, D.C.

Barclay Jameson, Editor, *The El Paso Times,* El Paso, Texas

Clayton Kirkpatrick, Executive Vice President and Editor, *The Chicago Tribune,* Chairman, International Communication Committee, American Society of Newspaper Editors, Chicago, Illinois

Wilbur Landrey, Foreign Editor, *St. Petersburg Times,* St. Petersburg, Florida

Richard H. Leonard, Senior Vice President and Editor, *The Milwaukee Journal,* Chairman, American Committee of the International Press Institute, Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Loyal Meek, Editor, *Phoenix Gazette,* Phoenix, Arizona

Clayton Kirkpatrick, Executive Vice President and Editor, The Chicago Tribune, *talks with Antonio Cruz-Uribe, Consul of Mexico for the State of Wisconsin.*

(Delegation from the United States, continued)

Jerry Norman, Editorial Writer, *Corpus Christi Caller,* Corpus Christi, Texas

Joe Rigert, Special Assignment Reporter, *The Minneapolis Tribune,* Minneapolis, Minnesota

Paul Ringler, Former International Chairman, International Press Institute, Former Associate Editor, *The Milwaukee Journal,* Consultant to The Johnson Foundation, Solana Beach, California

Nicholas R. Shuman, Editorial Writer, *Chicago Sun-Times,* Chicago, Illinois

Robert Trounson, Assistant Foreign Editor, *Los Angeles Times,* Los Angeles, California

Gerald Warren, Editor, *San Diego Union,* San Diego, California

Robert H. Wills, Senior Vice President and Editor, *Milwaukee Sentinel,* Milwaukee, Wisconsin

William Woestendiek, Executive Editor, *Arizona Star,* Tucson, Arizona

Guests

Antonio Cruz-Uribe, Consul of Mexico for the State of Wisconsin, Green Bay, Wisconsin

Robert H. Dunn, Executive Assistant to the Ambassador, Embassy of the United States, Mexico City, Mexico

Mark Hanson, Energy Systems Policy Research Group, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, Wisconsin

Larry Ikels, Press Attache, Embassy of the United States, Mexico City, Mexico

Vern Jervis, Press Officer, United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Patrick J. Lucey, Mexico City, Mexico

Mrs. Hugo B. Margain, Washington, D.C.

David Meissner, Director and Member of the Executive Committee, Inter-American Press Association, Editorial Writer, *The Milwaukee Journal*, Milwaukee, Wisconsin

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Kenneth Roesslein, Editorial Writer, *Milwaukee Sentinel*, Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Arnold W. Sevilla, City of Milwaukee, Commission on Community Relations, Milwaukee, Wisconsin

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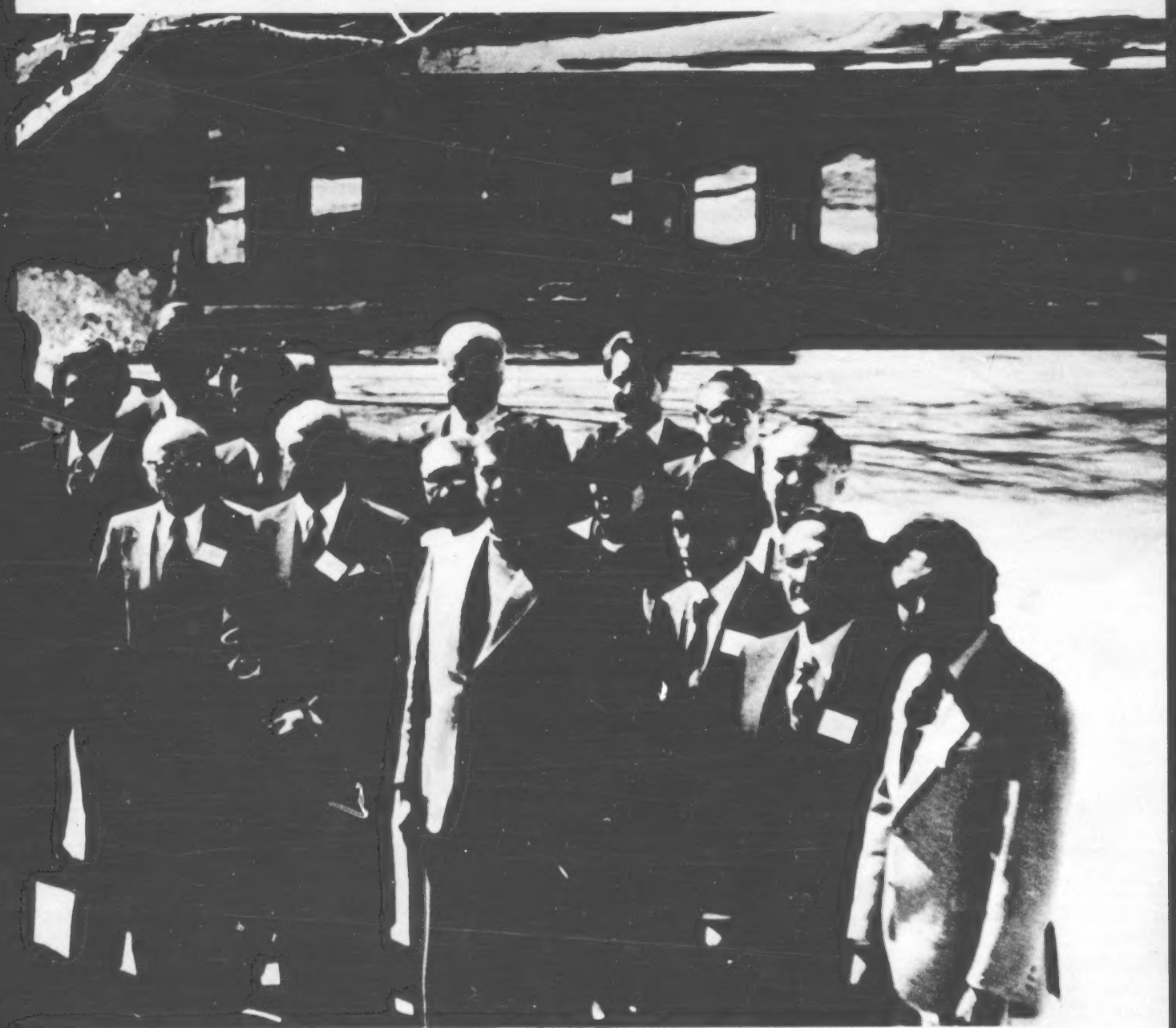
MEXICO—UNITED STATES RELATIONS

Wingspread Symposium on Mexico-United States Relations, March 25-27, 1979



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WINGSPREAD

The building Frank Lloyd Wright called Wingspread, situated on a rolling prairie site just north of Racine, Wisconsin, was designed in 1938 as a residence for the Johnson family. In 1960, through the gift of Mr. and Mrs. H.F. Johnson, it became the headquarters of The Johnson Foundation and began its career as an educational conference center.

In the years since, it has been the setting for many conferences and meetings dealing with subjects of regional, national, and international interest. Wingspread has now become a national institution devoted to the free exchange of ideas among people.

The rolling expanse of the Midwestern prairies was considered a natural setting for Wingspread. In the limitless earth the architect envisioned a freedom and movement. The name Wingspread was an expression of the nature of the house, reflecting aspiration through spread wings — a symbol of soaring inspiration.

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